

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USINT CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 091399

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION STATE AND DIA INFO AMMAN, JIDDA, KUWAIT,
LONDON, MOSCOW, PARIS, TEL AVIV, JERUSALEM, USCINCEUR AND
USUN FROM BEIRUT MAY 12, REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BEIRUT 5436

DEPT PASS USINT CAIRO

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, LE

SUBJECT: GOL POSITION ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH FEDAYEEN

1. SUMMARY. BASED UPON SEVERAL GOOD SOURCES, INCLUDING
SECRETARY GENERAL SADAQA OF FOREIGN OFFICE WHO TALKED TO
CHARGE ON MAY 11, PRESIDENT' S SON TONY FRANGIE AND KEY
ARMY OFFICERS, WE HAVE COME UP WITH FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT OF
WHERE NEGOTIATIONS STAND BETWEEN GOL AND FEDAYEEN. IN
BRIEF, PRESIDENT HAS APPARENTLY PUT NO RPT NO PRECISE
PROPOSAL TO FEDAYEEN ALTHOUGH THEY ARE WELL AWARE OF
HIS IDEAS ON SUBJECT. PRECISE PROPOSAL BEING DEVELOPED
GRADUALLY ALONG WITH EFFORTS GENERATE POLITICAL SUPPORT
FOR IT. TALKS IN MIXED ARMY- FEDAYEEN COMMISSION DEAL
ALMOST ENTIRELY WITH MATTERS PERTAINING TO ENFORCEMENT
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OF AGREED CEASEFIRE. END SUMMARY

2. AS SADAQA TOLD CHARGE MAY 11 (SEE SEPTTEL) AND AS WE

HAVE LEARNED FROM ARMY REPS ON JOINT GOL- FEDAYEEN COMMISSION, THUS FAR THERE HAVE BEEN NO TALKS BETWEEN GOL AND FEDAYEEN ON SUBSTANCE OF THEIR FUTURE RELATIONS. FEDAYEEN, OF COURSE, HAVE VERY CLEAR IDEA OF PRESIDENT FRANGIE' S THINKING (WHICH WE HAVE BEEN REPORTING FOR SOME TIME). STARTING WITH HIS APRIL 17 TALK WITH ARAFAT (BEIRUT 4545) CONTINUING THROUGH HIS TALKS WITH VARIOUS ARAB ENVOYS, AND IN HIS PRESENT MEETINGS WITH LEBANESE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS, FRANGIE' S IDEAS HAVE BEEN ESSENTIALLY THOSE REFLECTED IN AL HAWADETH ARTICLE REPORTED OUR 5380. HOWEVER, AS ALSO REPORTED BY SADAQA, GOL HASSOT FORMULATED OR EVEN BEGUN TO QUERY AND FORMULATE PRECISE PROPOSALS WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY BE PUT TO FEDAYEEN. FRANGIE IS SOLICITING IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS FROM MANY DIFFERENT QUARTERS AND IS TESTING ACCEPTABILITY OF VARIOUS IDEAS ON HIS INTERLOCUTORS AND VIA TRIAL BALLOONS IN PRESS. AT SOME FUTURE DATE WE UNDERSTAND NEGOTIATIONS WILL BEGIN BUT ONE CANNOT YET SAY WHEN OR IN WHAT FORUM OR WHAT SORT OF NEGOTIATING TACTICS WILL BE USED (E. G. PRESENTATION OF SPECIFIC MINIMAL DEMANDS WITH FIXED TIME LIMIT AT ONE EXTREME OR MORE TRADITIONAL LEBANESE APPROACH OF FREE- FORM TALKS WITH NO TIME LIMIT AT OTHER EXTREME). WE CONTINUE BE ASSURED ANY FINAL PRODUCT WILL NOT RPT NOT BE WRITTEN TREATY- LIKE DOCUMENT AS WERE CAIRO ACCORDS BUT PROBABLY A " GENTLEMEN' S AGREEMENT".

3. AS BEST WE CAN TELL, PRESIDENT FRANGIE' S MINIMAL DEMANDS (AT THIS TIME) INCLUDE VIRTUAL DEMILITARIZATION OF CAMPS IN AND AROUND BEIRUT (E. G. REMOVAL ALL BUT LIGHT ARMS, NO REGULARS, ETC.) AND ACCEPTANCE OF PRINCIPLE OF LEBANESE JURISDICTION OVER ALL PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON, INCLUDING FEDAYEEN. OTHER POINTS WHICH HE APPEARS DETERMINED TO PRESS ARE LESS CLEAR ALTHOUGH HE SEEMS FULLY AWARE (AS ARE ARMY OFFICERS) THAT WITHOUT ACTUAL INSPECTION AND CONTROLS ON CAMPS THERE ALMOST NO LIKELIHOOD OF DISARMAMENT BEING EFFECTIVE. SPECIFICS ON SUCH ISSUES AS GOL OR ARMY PASSES FOR MOVEMENT OF ARMED FEDAYEEN, LOCATION OF CAMPS FOR FEDAYEEN REGULARS, LIMITATIONS ON CROSS- BORDER OPERATIONS, ETC., HAVE APPARENTLY NOT YET BEEN WORKED OUT, ALTHOUGH
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(AS SADAQA REPORTS) PRESIDENT FRANGIE IS TAKING SYRIAN REGULATIONS AS POINT OF DEPARTURE AND HAS SUGGESTED THAT SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DO LIKEWISE.

4. SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAS SEVEN MEMBERS WHO CAREFULLY CHOSEN FOR REGIONAL, PARTY AND CONFESSIONAL BALANCE BUT ALL OF WHOM (INCLUDING SUNNI MOSLEMS ABDO OUEYDATE AND ZAKI MAZBOUDI) ARE CONSIDERED AT LEAST AMENABLE TO PRESIDENT FRANGIE' S APPROACH TO PROBLEM. THEY HAVE COME UP WITH SEVEN- POINT DRAFT PROPOSAL WHICH HAS BEEN PRESENTED TO ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT KAMAL ASSAD (SHIA LEADER WHO HAS BEEN STRONGLY

OUTSPOKEN SUPPORTER OF FRANGIE DURING PAST TWO WEEKS).
HIDDEN BEHIND POINTS GLORIFYING PALESTINE CAUSE AS AN ALL-
ARAB CAUSE ARE TWO BASIC FRANGIE AXIOMS THAT ALL ARAB STATES
SHOULD TREAT PALESTINIANS (AND FEDAYEEN) IN SAME WAY,
I. E., GOL SHOULD NOT BE MORE LIMITED IN EXERCISING ITS
SOVEREIGNTY OR RESTRAINING DANGEROUS FEDAYEEN ACTIVITIES
THAN EGYPT OR SYRIA OR IRAQ; AND THAT LEBANON SHOULD NOT BE
ASKED RISK ISRAELI ATTACK UNLESS ALL ARAB STATES READY TO
FIGHT. FOR EXAMPLE ONE POINT SAYS THAT " ENTIRE ARAB NATION
MUST SHOULDER RESPONSIBILITY FOR BATTLE" (WITH ISRAEL) AND
THEREFORE " NO SINGLE GROUP ARMY OR STATE HAS RIGHT TO LAUNCH
THE BATTLE". ANOTHER POINT CALLS FOR PLACING FEDAYEEN UNDER
CONTROL OF ARAB ARMIES. FINAL POINT SAYS THAT FEDAYEEN
ARMS SHOULD " BE STOWED AWAY AND HANDED OVER TO FIGHTERS
ONLY WHEN ASSIGNED A MISSION", WITHOUT INFRINGING ON SOVER-
EIGNTY OF HOST COUNTRY AND WITH APPROVAL ITS MILITARY
AUTHORITIES. OBJECTIVE OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE IS TO PLACE
NEW GOL- FEDAYEEN RELATIONSHIP IN BROADER CONTEXT OF FEDAYEEN
RELATIONS ALL ARAB GOVTS. THIS PARALLELS FRANGIE' S
LINE WITH ARAB ENVOYS. REPORT IS CERTAIN TO BE MODIFIED
SHOULD IT BE ADOPTED BY ENTIRE ASSEMBLY BUT IT PROVIDES BASIS
FOR SUPPORT FOR FRANGIE' S POSITION.

5. JOINT FEDAYEEN- MILITARY COMMISSIONS HAVE BEEN SET UP
WITH SUB- COMMISSIONS IN FOUR OR FIVE AREAS OUTSIDE OF BEIRUT
AND JOINT OBSERVER TEAMS AT MOST SENSITIVE
SPOTS IN BEIRUT (E. G., AROUND EDGES OF SABRA- CHATILA CAMP
COMPLEX). SO- CALLED " AGREEMENT" BETWEEN ARMY AND FEDAYEEN
WHICH ESTABLISHED JOINT COMMISSION (AND ANNOUNCED BY
EGYPTIAN ENVOY EL KHOLY ON MAY 10 IN DAMASCUS) DEALS
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EXCLUSIVELY WITH ENFORCEMENT OF CEASE- FIRE AND CESSATION OF
PROPAGANDA ATTACKS AND HAS NO RPT NO REFERENCE TO ANY
SUBSTANTIVE OR POLITICAL MATTERS, INCLUDING CONTROVERSIAL
CAIRO ACCORDS. FROM WHAT WE UNDERSTAND FROM LEBANESE
MILITARY, JOINT COMMISSION AND SUB- COMMISSIONS HAVE BEEN OF
SOME HELP IN KEEPING SITUATION COOL IN BEIRUT AND HELPING
DAMP DOWN VIOLATIONS ELSEWHERE. HOWEVER, THEY NOT CONSIDERED
TO BE MUCH MORE THAN FACE- SAVER AND TEMPORIZING DEVICE, AND
THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE PREVENT EITHER OCCASIONAL FEDAYEEN
INFILTRATION AND/ OR ATTACKS IN SYRIAN BORDER AREA OR OCCASIONAL
LEBANESE ARMY ATTACKS ON FEDAYEEN IN BORDER AREA.

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